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the house of the challenging team's vụ'tẹ'. The course of a relay race is from this house along her semicircle, thence onward. Two competitors theoretically run from the house of the challenger's vụ'tẹ' across the plaza to the opponents' vụ'tẹ' house. In the present village the ground slopes southward in some measure, so these races always proceed from the house of the vụ'tẹ' of the eastern age-class moiety (on the north side of the village) to the vụ'tẹ' house of the complementary pair.

Leaders.—The two official leaders, mamkyẽ'ti, of a class represent, respectively, the eastern and western plaza groups. Before the opening of the first initiation phase they are carefully selected by the councilors from among the prospective initiates. To begin the solemnities these two boys are led out of their mothers' houses and made to face each other in the plaza. Their badge is a fan of erect arara tail feathers worn at the back of the head. In the earlier phase, where the initiates of the eastern and the western plaza groups appear separately, each leader heads his group, all marching in Indian file. In the latter phase, where this dichotomy no longer holds, and after the close of initiation, the leader of the eastern moiety takes precedence.

These mamkyẽ'ti form part of a ceremonial aristocracy (p. 97). It is they who actually govern the age classes, being possibly the only functionaries who literally issue orders among the Canella, a task for which they are trained from the beginning. Only they have the right to summon their class fellows, who are obliged to obey the call and may not assemble without their leaders. Anyone who has dealings with a class, including the chiefs, must turn to its mamkyẽ'ti. These leaders are subject only to the council and—during the initiation period—also to the mekapónkate (instructor, commandant), who belongs to an older class, and to his deputy, the mekapónkatekahą'k, the senior member of the class to be initiated.

In case of a leader's death no substitute is chosen. If both mamkyẽ'ti should die prematurely, the instructor's deputy assumes the leadership, but this is always regarded as a calamity for the class. Theoretically, the leaders are equals, but in practice the abler of the two soon gains ascendancy without, however, completely eclipsing his colleague. In contrast to the chiefs, the mamkyẽ'ti exercise no authority whatever beyond their age class.

In former times the mamkyẽ'ti led their class in war and in the chase, though always aided by one or several older men. Since warfare belongs completely to the past and communal hunting has dwindled in importance the present significance of these officers is slight—apart from ceremonial. The present situation for the several classes is as follows:

(a) The youngest class, kra'tą'kama, is actually governed by its mekapónkate.

(b) The next older class, põhịtĩkama, has two mamkyẽ'ti, but they are completely overshadowed by the personality of Kapẽrtụ'k, the second commandant and actual leader.

(c) The kaprąnpotĩkama have a very able and energetic leader named Yõ'ro; his colleague is no longer living. During the last pepyé ceremony of this class (1923) Cątũ was their instructor; he remained with them after the close of the initiation and from sheer devotion to his pupils continues as their nonofficial commandant. Yõ'ro still continues to regard him as a superior.

(d) The oldest active class, the rópkama, have only one mamkyẽ'ti, Koipõ'ro, the other having died.

The term mamkyẽ'ti, evidently connected with kyẽ, exogamous moiety, suggests that the leaders originally represented the exogamous halves rather than the plaza

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725 Äußerste an, ihn fortzubringen, weil es für eine besondere Schmach gehalten wird, lebend oder tot in die Hände der Feinde zu gerathen."[355]

After every shot the Rąmkŏ'kamekra are accustomed to give their buttocks a resounding smack with the palms of their hands and to utter piercing, quavering cries while slapping their lips in rapid succession. The "glowing embers" at the tip of the incendiary arrow generally consist of a kerneled maize cob; in its flight the resistance of the air produces a blaze.

726 In fighting Neobrazilians the Timbira attacked either single individuals or an
177 estate, immediately withdrawing after the first clash. Nevertheless, panic preceded them, as witnessed by Ribeiro:[356]

. . . pois temos observado em repetidas occasiões que á primeira voz que se ouve no sertão como dizendo:—'Ahi vem gentios, são muitos, ja invadiram tal fazenda, mataram tantas pessoas, não ha quem possa resistir-lhe'—não se averigua mais nada, transmitten os habitantes seu terror uns aos outros, largam os fazendeiros suas fazendas sem saber a quem, e por toda parte fogem como carneiros sem saber de que.

(. . . for we have repeatedly observed that with the first cry uttered in the sertão that "Indians are coming, there are so many, they have already attacked such and such a fazenda and killed so many persons, no one can resist them," people do not investigate further, but one settler imparts his alarm to the next, the fazendeiros surrendering their fazendas without knowing to whom and fleeing like sheep without knowing from what.)

725 Against the bandeiras the Indians sought refuge in the steep mesas scattered
177 throughout Timbira territory. That it was sometimes inadvisable to pursue them is proved by the destruction of Manoel José de Assumpção's bandeira at the Serra da Desordem by the Pụkóbye in 1814. The Timbira also applied to warfare their hunting technique of the surround with firing of the grass, as demonstrated by the case of Manoel Lopes' bandeira, which was almost destroyed by a fire in a dry bamboo thicket.[357]

727 The Rąmkŏ'kamekra took no prisoners, but indiscriminately knocked down opponents with their clubs. They neither mutilated corpses nor took home any part of the body as a trophy. According to Ribeiro, however, the Pụkóbye in 1814 captured a girl alive at the destruction of Porto da Chapada (=Grajahú);[358] and in 1808 the Čą'kamekra are reported to have taken along the ears of a boy killed near Principe Regente.

266 The Čą'kamekra have been accused of anthropophagy but probably only to facilitate application to them of the special laws against cannibals decreed by the Portuguese government. Ribeiro explains the origin of the report:

The Čą'kamekra had forced a bandeira of two hundred men to retreat and had killed the leader, Eugenio Antonio, whom his followers buried on the spot. Another bandeira of two hundred men headed by Manuel Lopes attempted to avenge the defeat in the following year, but with no more success. When they got to Antonio's grave, the bones were found to have been disinterred, scattered, and charred "as though the attached flesh had been roasted and even with traces of gnawing."

But Ribeiro himself states that this does not prove Čą'kamekra cannibalism.[359]

701 *Organization.*—The raids of the Rąmkŏ'kamekra were executed either by all warriors on the councilors' decision or by single individuals on their own responsibility. Youths figured as "warriors" (pep) from the close of their initiation to the close of the next younger age-class's initiation, that is, for about ten years. The age-class leaders directly headed the warriors, but the real command was vested in

[355] Pohl, Reise, 2:206.
[356] Memoria, § 74.
[357] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 79.
[358] *Ibid.*, § 38.
[359] *Ibid.*, § 37.

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a war chief, haprẽra, specially chosen by the council from among the experienced braves, several of whom usually accompanied the expedition and without whose advice the age-class leaders would not take any steps.

By way of avenging a kinsman's death a single man might lie in ambush near the enemy's paths and water supply; or maternal uncle and nephew would unite in this way.

According to a Rąmkõ'kamekra tradition a woman whose son had gained a warrior's status sent him out to fetch the skeletal remains of her brother, whom the Neobrazilians had killed near a settlement. She gave an exact description of the site, which was at the foot of a big tree, in the center of a little wooded island by the headwaters of a certain brook. The youth set out alone and found the bones at the spot indicated. He collected them, packed them up, and carried them to a mountain halfway from his home. There he laid them down, as well as his provender and everything he was able to spare, then he once more went back to the settlement, carrying only his weapons. Here he lay in ambush not far from the houses, near a road with many footprints. He waited for a long time, then two men with rifles came past, whom he followed. After a while one of them lingered behind to ease himself, and the youth utilised this opportunity to lay him low with a club. The companion heard the noise, turned back, and cocked the trigger when he caught sight of the Indian, but before he could shoot the young man had killed him too. Then he picked up the rifles and fled, for the inmates of the houses had taken cognisance of the incident and immediately gave pursuit. He ran all day, but his pursuers would not give up, so that at last his strength was exhausted. With a final exertion he climbed the mountain where he had left his uncle's bones. He was unable to move farther and prepared to fight. From his height he saw his pursuers arriving at the foot of the cliff, but they were even more fatigued than himself, hence unable to ascend the mountain. Accordingly, after a rest they turned back. The warrior recovered the bag with the remains, also his baggage, and returned to his village, where he put down the two rifles in the plaza before the chiefs and elders. The trigger of one of them was still cocked, for at that time these Indians did not yet understand how to release it.

Weapons.—The principal weapon was the club, that is, especially the two-edged sword club (pl. 8), which terminates in a hefty, long point so that it serves equally for thrusting and striking. Sometimes it was also thrown short distances, as stated by Pohl for the Põrekamekra. The Rąmkõ'kamekra had special throwing clubs with a head set off from the rest of the weapon in the form of a short cylinder.

A few remarks may be offered as to the anchor ax, kạ'ire (Pụkóbye: kạ'hire; Kre' pụ'mkateye: kạyé). According to Pohl, the Põrekamekra used it both as a badge of office and a weapon:

> Als Abzeichen ihrer Würde trugen der Kapitão und dessen Unterführer ein eigen geformtes Beil aus Granit unter den Achseln. Dieses Beil, halbmondförmig geschliffen, 7 Zoll lang, ist an einem kurzen Stiel von 10 Zoll Länge befestigt, von welchem rotgefärbte Baumwollschnüre herabhängen. An beyden Enden dieses Stieles ist ein dünnes Band befestigt, vermöge welchem das Beil auf der Achsel festgehalten wird. Es gelang mir nur mit vieler Mühe durch Vermittlung Carvalhos und gegen Erstattung eines Gegengeschenkes, aus mehreren Messern bestehend, ein solches Beil zu erhalten. Sie gaben sie sehr ungern weg, da ihre Verfertigung sehr mühsam ist. Im Kriege wissen sie dieses Beil mit besonderer Gewandtheit zu führen und es hat die Bestimmung, vorzugsweise den Feinden die Köpfe zu spalten.

Among the Eastern Timbira the anchor ax is—at least nowadays—far rarer than among the Apinayé, whose small ceremonial form is wholly lacking. I have seen only a specimen apiece among the Rąmkõ'kamekra and the Apạ'nyekra and have re-